PINK AND BLACK ATTACK

6

FALL 2010

Don't let them get the Mount Hope

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November 2008- A large group of GLBTQ activists protest the notoriously homophobic Mt. Hope Church in Lansing, Michigan. The anonymous protesters sit quietly in the service until an agreed upon moment when they jump up, kiss each other, and scatter leaflets (specifically aimed at supporting GLBTQ youth in the congregation who are shamed and silenced by programs designed to "cure" queers.) They drop a banner from the balcony that reads: "It's OK to be GAY! Bash Back!" The protest is high-profile, well-documented and claimed by Bash Back, but despite this, the police are unable to charge them with breaking a single law.

Instead, six months later, 13 out and radical queers from around the Midwest are served with a massive civil suit by the Alliance Defense Fund, the same conservative Christian legal foundation that is championing Prop 8 in California courts. ADF may add up to 20 more "Jesse Does" as defendants, meaning that an infinitely wide circle of visible queers could eventually be targeted.

The hundreds of thousands of dollars demanded by the ADF obviously have nothing to do with real damages sustained by the Mt. Hope Church and have everything to do with defending a power relation, in which wealthy Christian groups can promote trash such as "ex-gay counseling" without any dissent at all. If the Mt. Hope Infinity (the 13 now named, plus anyone else singled out to be attacked) are found liable, this won't just wreck them, but everyone else who can't fit in and stay silent.

We can't let the Mt. Hope Church and Alliance Defense Fund get away with this.

Support the Mt. Hope Infinity!

Not enough people know about the case - spread the word and spread the posters. Active solidarity and funds are desperately needed.

bashbackinfinity.wordpress.com \\\\ bashbacknews.wordpress.com

(This poster was not produced by the Mt. Hope Infinity, but by independent supporters.)

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Editorial Statement

Points of Unity

1 We are queer anarchists. We oppose the state and capitalism in all their forms.

2 We are anti-assimilationists. We refuse to beg the state for equality.

3 We actively oppose heterosexism, transphobia, ableism, patriarchy, classism, and white supremacy.

4 We believe in collective liberation for all people.

5 We believe in revolutionary solidarity with everyone in the struggle against the state and against the domination of capitalism. We especially support our comrades who face legal trouble because of their struggles.

Welcome to the sixth issue of Pink and Black Attack. This issue comes out just about on time, and this is the first time that has happened. We are proud of this issue because we think it is a large step forward in terms of aesthetics. We did a few things differently this time, switching our font size and putting all of the news articles into one continuous section instead of separate stories. This allows us keep the same page count while increasing content. These changes are accompanied by a shift in design, with some effort finally being made to make the periodical easier on the eyes.

This issue also delves deeper into questions of identity than previous issues have, with much of the content focused either on affirming or negating identity. "Ditching the Boys' Club" (p. 15) and "The L Word" (p. 22) both point to the importance of identity, while "Reflections on the Demise of Bash Back!" (p. 18), "Let the Trans Women Speak" (p. 9), and "Preliminary Notes on Modes of Reproduction" (p. 26) all contain at least some critique of identity. This, in addition to our other content, including news and updates on legal issues facing our comrades and Following the Money (p. 12), round out the issue.

As always, we welcome submissions to this periodical. We are looking for analytical articles, personal essays, action reports, graphics, pictures and anything to do with queer anarchist theory and action. Please get in contact with us! We also want to expand the distribution of Pink and Black Attack, so if you are a distro or an infoshop, get in contact with us!

A disclaimer: We do not necessarily agree with all the material that we print, but we do find it valuable for discussion, and we believe in the importance of spreading anti-assimilationist, anarchist queer thought. Further, we do not endorse any illegal activity. All information is for educational purposes only.

Our next issue will come out in December, so please send in any submissions by November 1st.

As always, we welcome feedback and constructive criticism. You can contact us at pinkandblackattack@riseup.net.

Happenings

of a queer and deviant nature



MAY, 2010. PITTSBUGH, PA: EVANGELICAL CHURCH AND DONUT SHOP VANDALIZED

An Evangelical church has opened its doors in the Mt Washington area of Pittsburgh. The church is part of The Evangelical Free Church of America whose "policies" on homosexuality refer to queers as perversions of God's plan for human sexuality and as people who need to be cured as well as bars anyone who as much as accepts queers from involvement in the church. While we love perversion, and have no interest in involvement with the church, a cure is the last thing we need. As a result, within days of the church opening behind a storefront in a Mt Washington business strip, filling their windows with posters about Jesus, "Queer Haters Not Welcome" was painted across their windows on the front of their building.

A Donut Shop in Pittsburgh called Peace, Love, and Little Donuts makes a living by masquerading behind a facade of Peace and Love despite being run by a homophobic and misogynistic right wing evangelical named Ron Razette. The Donut Shop was host to a Queer Explosion Dance Party back in January where queers occupied and made out in his shop to some fun tunes. Nonetheless, Razette's business continues to expand and he is due to open two more locations in the city hiding behind a message of love while being run by those who spew hate.



In April of 2010, queers visited Razette's shop and glued his locks. They then painted "BIGOT" in large red letters under the rainbow sign that lovingly declares "peace, love, and little donuts". Of course, Ron was eventually able to continue business as usual after taking care of these things. But recently, he stirred things up again.

In the May issue of Cue Magazine- a local mainstream GLBT magazine- a favorable article was printed about PLLD and Razette's business. The author of the magazine apologized profusely when contacted and said he had no idea about the shop's owner- showing that more visibility is needed. He plans to write a follow-up article that will show more truths about Razette's character. But for local queers, this was another conniving move by Razette to use queer communities to obtain more capital.

In response, queers revisited his shop in May 2010. His locks were glued and "QUEERS BASH BACK (A)" was painted in large letters covering the front of his shop. Businesses run by queer bashers will continue to be exposed in our city, especially when they use queer communities here to further their capitalist agenda.

Gluing locks is an easy, relatively safe, and effective action that anyone can do with super glue that can be used on metal. Insurance rarely covers things like locksmiths and it can really put a damper on the morning opening process of any business. Painting along with this can help make your message more clear.

The purpose of both these actions was to create visibility, expose these places for what they are, to disrupt their operations, and of course- to have a little fun.

MAY 29. DENVER, CO: BASH BACK! CONVERGENCE

During the 2010 bash back! is dead convergence in Denver, a few small unclaimed actions occurred in Denver's prominent art district. These included the torching of a newspaper box, the shattering of a few windows at the Democratic Party Headquarters, and a large amount of writing painted on the walls along the avenue of art galleries.

June 13. Pittsburgh, PA: Pink and Black Contingent Takes Over Section of the Pittsburgh Pride Parade

Pridefest was recently held in Pittsburgh. Run by corporate and state sponsorship and pandering to the police, the festival is put together by the patriarchal, sexist, trans/queer-exclusionist, and genderist, mainstream, predominantly cisgendered male gay community.

Queers in Pittsburgh wanted to show another side of the queer community here. Thus we made a plan to create a pink and black bloc within the pride parade, refusing to register or contribute to the corporate nature of the festival.

On the day of the parade, some folks noticed some cross-suckers protesting the festival with anti-queer messages. A make-out session ensued despite claims from the Christians that one of the genderqueers in the group would "Never be a 'real man'". As the Christian protesters failed to stop the queers, the pride parade began and the pink and black contingent rushed to the front, directly behind the Macy's float where Macy's workers were handing out sweatshop rainbow bandanna's with the Macy's logo on them. Queers and allies marched in pink and black holding a reinforced banner reading "Stonewall was (A) Riot" and signs reading "Not gay is in happy, queer as in fuck you", "anarchy is for lovers", "sodomize the state", "queer liberation now", "queers are revolting,", and "hrc, not my advocate".

The group began loudly chanting. Chants included:

"We're here. We're queer. We're not going shopping!"

"2-4-6-8 anal sex is really great!"

"Queers Yes! Macy's No! This corporate shit has got to go!"

"When homophobes attack, queers bash back!"

"I support a rainbow of genitalia" and others.

We remained at the front of the parade, drowning out corporate floats and members for the entirety of the parade. A Macy's worker pushed one blocer and called them an asshole while another attempted to explain that pride was about "love and acceptance". The bloc pushed past them chanting "We're here. We're queer. We're anarchists, we'll fuck you up!" At the end of the march, a member of the Delta Foundation and Pride organizer threatened the pink and black bloc with violence and expulsion from future events.

But, don't worry. We'll be back next year.



Pink and black bloc marches unpermitted at Pittsburgh Pride Parade, June 2010.

June 19. Berlin, Germany: Judith Butler Refuses Pride Award

Judith Butler, a prominent queer theorist, was offered the Civil Courage Award by Berlin Pride. She refused the award, giving the following speech:

"I must distance myself from this complicity with racism"



Judith Butler, looking fly while refusing Pride award, Berlin, June 2010.

When I consider what it means today, to accept such an award, then I believe, that I would actually lose my courage, if I would simply accept the price under the present political conditions. … For instance: Some of the organizers explicitly made racist statements or did not dissociate themselves from them. The host organizations refuse to understand antiracist politics as an essential part of their work. Having said this, I must distance myself from this complicity with racism, including anti-Muslim racism.

We all have noticed that gay, bisexual, lesbian, trans and queer people can be instrumentalized by those who want to wage wars, i.e. cultural wars against migrants by means of forced islamophobia and military wars against Iraq and Afghanistan. In these times and by these means, we are recruited for nationalism and militarism. Currently, many European governments claim that our gay, lesbian, queer rights must be protected and we are made to believe that the new hatred of immigrants is necessary to protect us. Therefore we must say no to such a deal. To be able to say no under these circumstances is what I call courage. But who says no? And who experiences this racism? Who are the queers who really fight against such politics?

If I were to accept an award for courage, I would have to pass this award on to those that really demonstrate courage. If I were able to, I would pass it on the following groups that are courageous, here and now:

1) GLADT: Gays and Lesbians from Turkey. This is a queer migrant self-organization. This group works very successfully within the fields of multiple discrimination, homophobia, transphobia, sexism, and racism.

2) LesMigraS: Lesbian Migrants and Black Lesbians,

is an anti-violence and anti-discrimination division of Lesbenberatung Berlin. It has worked with success for ten years. They work in the fields of multiple discrimination, self-empowerment, and antiracist labor.

3) SUSPECT: A small group of queers that established an anti-violence movement. They assert that it is not possible to fight against homophobia without also fighting against racism.

4) ReachOut is a counseling center for victims of rightwing extremist, racist, anti-Semitic , homophobic, and transphobic violence in Berlin. It is critical of structural and governmental violence.

Yes, and these are all groups that work in the Transgeniale CSD, that shape it, that fight against homophobia, transphobia, sexism, racism, and militarism, and that – as opposed to the commercial CSD – did not change the date of their event because of the Soccer World Cup.

I would like to congratulate these groups for their courage, and I am sorry that, under these circumstances, I am unable to accept this award.

JUNE 27. SAN FRANCISCO, CA: GAY SHAME CRIES FOR QUEER LIBERATION

Gay Shame held a goth cry-in and funeral procession to mourn the death of queer liberation, citing as its causes of death "racism, capitalism, Bank of America, consumerism, BP oil plumes, transphobia, ableism, HIV, apathy, Bud Light, Showtime, colonization, gay marriage, war, prisons, NPIC, and Gavin Newsom." The cry-in was held outside of the LGBT Center for those who were "not feeling Pride this year, with all its commercialism and corporate sponsorship" and "tired of seeing queer culture co-opted by big companies who care more about their bottom line than what it really means to be queer."

JUNE 27. SEATTLE, WA: ANTI-PRIDE DANCE PARTY

An unpermitted street dance party called Queers Fucking Queers broke out in Capitol Hill during Pride weekend. Yuppie cars were attacked, as well as a Bank of America. There were no arrests. Following is a communiqué from the incident:

NOTHING IS THE ONLY THING WORTH KEEPING OF THIS WORLD THAT WANTS US DEAD.

We are not interested in the choices of coffins the current system offers and we will not play along with Pride as it celebrates what kills us: the designated spaces of back patting assimilationists, appeasing the cops, being choked and asking for permission to breathe... We bring war through the designation of an infinite dance floor.

We killed pride in an orgy of destruction because anything else would be giving in to asphyxiation. Pride is funeral calling itself a parade; it wants us to be pallbearers of its corpse. We know better than to carry its dead weight. We want total liberation from every crushing part of this society. Hundreds of us gathered on the anniversary of the Stonewall riot of 1969 recognizing the emptiness of the sponsored Pride celebrations. The streets of Capitol Hill, the gay district of Seattle, vibrated with anticipation. We met at the stroke of midnight, conspiring on a dream to annihilate order. We poured into the street as the dull but persistent roar of pride was drowned by our screams and moans. We do not want to be recognized as homosexuals in the sense of what that means to the LGBTIQ alphabet "community" /colonized by heterosexual imperialism./ We become, instead, parasites of this society, dripping with sweat,

fleeing this world of death.

As 300 of us passed police, we roared with laughter. The pigs looked defeated, they couldn't fucking touch us, they threatened but no one listened. They were afraid and they should be afraid. When they quiver, We laugh!

After an hour which flashed ecstatically, we vanished back into the night. We disappeared as quickly as we emerged, at the climax, hurled back into darkness, still out of control, leaving a trail of destruction. In the the crash of our bodies, the air singing its way out of the tires of luxury cars, the echoing crash of our blows to banks, we left everything shattered, glittering and engorged

because some things are only beautiful when breaking.

-the end



Queers Fucking Queers street dance party roams Capitol Hill neighborhood of Seattle, June 2010. Yuppie cars were attacked, as well as a Bank of America.

JULY 17. VANCOUVER, BC: PINK BLOC INTERVENTION IN RALLY FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

In response to comments made by Ashley Fehr of Canadians Advocating Political Participation in the Georgia Straight that both condemned the black bloc and disinvited anyone wearing masks to the rally, a group of about ten people dressed head to toe in pink with pink banners and wearing pink face masks.

"You're making us look bad."

"No, we're making you look gay!"

Fehr had retracted the dis-invitation before the rally, and claims to have been misquoted, but many people who support direct action, including black bloc, felt the matter still needed to be addressed.

The concept of 'making people look bad' is a ludicrous rationalization for denouncing any action or group. Excluding illegal activity from resistance movements –even mainstream ones, is outlandish and historically revisionist. While the mass arrests in Toronto led to many 'normal Canadians' feeling the impact of the brutality of the Canadian state, it is unacceptable to allow continued resistance to exclude and condemn people who already live outside the protection of Canadian law and policy.

Some of the speakers at his event were people who had been arrested in Toronto. They spoke from a very vulnerable place about abuse and violation they experienced. Also, a bunch of politicians spoke at this event too; while numerous heckles could not be contained Pink Bloc people were holding back a lot of frustration hearing long speeches about Canada, and how police action during the G20 went against Canadian values. For a lot of people–in this instance, trans, queer and indigenous people–Canada itself is a violation of everyday life and of people's bodies.

"While we can show solidarity with all of the arrestees in Toronto, it is not going to be at the expense of our own resistance movements. We see the breach of the peace in Toronto and celebrate, because for us, peace in Canada exists at our–and many others'–expense. "-Pinky Tuscadero

A pamphlet titled, 'No Dress Codes! No Fashion Police' was handed out with information on the many reasons people wear masks and briefly touching on the use of direct action in popular liberation movements through history. Also, in the rally before the march, there was lots of discussion and debate between people in the pink bloc and other people attending the rally. Aside from a human troll who pulled the mask off one pink blocker, it was a good example of how diverse elements of resistance movements can –and do- engage with each other in a fruitful manner.

JULY 25. LONDON, ONTARIO: FASCISTS THREATEN PRIDE; DON'T SHOW UP



Neo-Nazis threatened to disrupt the London Pride Parade this year, as they had done in previous years. Anti-fascists showed up to the march, joining with queers in order to confront the Nazi threat. However, the Nazis did not show up. Instead, a small group of religious bigots arrived with signs. The signs were quickly blocked by queers and anti-fascists.

AUGUST 7. HART, MI: VANDALISM AT MICHFEST

This year at MichFest, the words "Real Womyn Have Cocks" were painted on the MichFest kitchen and other damage was allegedly done to MichFest property. A flyer was distributed with the following text:

Second-Wave 'Feminists',

A hot load from my monstrous tranny-cock embodies womanhood more than the pieces of menstral (sic) art your transphobic cunts could ever hope to create.

Love,

Womyn-born-Monsters

GUELPH, ONTARIO. UPDATE ON FIERCE AND FABULOUS 3

[For more information on the case, visit queers519.wordpress.com]

One of the Fierce and Fabulous 3 was arrested again on bullshit charges. They are now on house arrest, with incredibly strict conditions. The other two are still in the judicial process, which is a big pile of poop. There is still fierce debate as to whether or not to buy bulk glitter and lube, and cops have still not been made accountable for their actions in the targeted arrests and brutalization of queers. Shit's still fucked, court still sucks, prison should still be blown up, etcetera.

"LET THE TRANS WOMEN SPEAK!"

A RESPONSE TO CAMP TRANS 2010

We bitches have frayed nerves. Over the past week everything, or almost everything, has wounded us, and what didn't was at the very least irritating. What follows is a brief analysis of the events of this year's Camp Trans, and a resulting dialogue on the moments of hostility which have been brought into openness due to these events. We're not shy of conflict, and this is our attempt at elaborating the civil war that underlies the fracturing of Camp Trans:

While the story could likely begin many years ago, it perhaps suffices to say that Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, with its "womyn-born-womyn" attendance policy, was born of a feminist desire to police the bodies to ensure that they were adequately Woman enough to build a positive "sisterhood" away from patriarchy, the political power of which apparently cums from the barrel of a penis. Camp Trans began as a 'community' based in its support of trans women's inclusion into the virulently transphobic festival under the banner "Room for all Kinds of Womyn."

It is these legacies that bring us to last week. Conflict begins at the annual vigil at MichFest gates: after being approached to turn his engine off while a history of Camp was being recounted, a tow truck driver threatens two trans people's lives, aggressively misgenders a trans woman, and ultimately wields a large tow chain threatening to kill all of the trans people who had surfaced to protect their friends. MichFest workers act as barriers between Camp-goers and the driver all while commending him for his valor. All of this, in many ways, is a regular occurrence for those who unthinkably defy the gendered violence of society every day. The basis of conflict lies not in this confrontation, but rather the response of the larger "Camp Trans community" in response to the bashing.

Community meetings began with calls to process how those enraged at the bashing were "triggering" to people because of the "aggressive yelling" and "violent energy" of those directly involved in defending their friends against patriarchal violence, a group made up of mostly trans-female identified and genderqueer people. While those threatened with their lives sought to immediately respond, the community consensus meeting pushed off the question of responding until finally refusing to take up a response because "trans women feel uncomfortable about the situation."

This culminated in a "trans women's caucus" which stated their intention to assimilate into MichFest and build their own camp there, despite the fact that they had visibly seen trans women almost killed with no response from MichFest. When other trans female campers spoke to voice their indignation about complicity in this violence, another camper yelled, "Let the trans women speak!" This silencing is the context in which we write. While The Voice of the Trans Women has spoken, we, some of the abjected and artificial trans females, remain discursively erased from the conversation in sacrifice to the

politics of identity. But we are not shutting the fuck up any longer.

Ultimately, we see the events of this year's Camp Trans as yet another failure of identity politics and its correlative form, the Community. In the events of this year's Camp Trans, we once again see community used as an apparatus used to recuperate the potentiality of radical struggle. We watched as the most reactionary and assimilationist trans female voices were said to "speak for most of the trans women at Camp" in wanting to ignore getting bashed and join the festivities of MichFest. Some went as far as saying in the caucus that they "want to pass as women and women are not violent." Consequently, rumors circulated that those trans female folks espousing a non-pacifist response to being almost bashed to death were secretly "cis men appropriating women's experiences to justify their violent attitudes." For us, in the words of an obscure journal from Europe, violence is what has been taken from us, and today we need to take it back, from tow truck drivers and transphobic music festivals and all those who seek to use our bodies as political capital to advance liberal politics.

The stakes of continuing on the line-of-flight of liberal activism seems clear to us now. Trans activism has not moved us toward the destruction of gender terror. We have moved from woman-as-womb to woman-as-estrogen-levels and woman-as-peaceful-loving-responses-to-oppression. In this way, Camp Trans represents the new cutting edge of patriarchy, one in which citizens of the Community replace the Patriarch or men as a class as police to quash resistance outside of legal processes and make sure that there is only one resounding Voice of the Trans Women through gender-policing.

We remain committed to the struggle to unleash our power on those who would enforce on us the worst forms of gendered violence, be they on the hallowed Land of MichFest or in our own "community." From now on, the only force that stands a chance at ruining the forces which ruin our lives is one built on friendship, affinity, and shared desires to end domination.

Fuck gender essentialism, recuperative consensus meetings, privileged feminist pacifism, and those apparatuses or people who seek to speak for any of us on behalf of women or trans people or anything. We will demolish it all.

We're mean bitches, we have our own voices and from now on we will only be speaking our own power or nothing at all.

Get with us or get the fuck out of the way.

-some totally artificial bitchez.

...violence is what has been taken from us, and today we need to take it back, from tow truck drivers and transphobic music festivals and all those who seek to use our bodies as political capital to advance liberal politics.

SUPPORT THE MT. HOPE INFINITY

On November 9th, 2008 activists from the international queer liberation group, Bash Back! protested the stance and actions of the notoriously anti-queer mega-church, Mount Hope at their headquarters compound in Lansing, Michigan. While some of the group danced, chanted and held signs outside of the building, a small group proceeded into the church to conduct a demonstration by hanging a banner that read "It's OK to be GAY!", and handing out support leaflets targeted toward the queer youth. As the activists had been careful to remain legal, the police made no charges. So in May of 2009 a right-wing legal group, the Alliance Defense Fund filed a federal law suit on behalf of Mt. Hope Church under the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, naming 13 individuals, as well as Bash Back! as a whole, Bash Back! Lansing, and 20 "John" and "Jane Doe"s (yet to be identified).

Legal Precedent (Or, How Laws Are Really Made)

The case of the Bash Back! Infinity/Mt. Hope Infinity is especially important because the lawsuit is brought under the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act. This act was passed in 1994 in order to target anti-choice protestors who blocked clinic entrances, but in order to secure Republican approval, the act also covered religious services and religious facilities. This case has the strong potential to set precedent in the application of this law to protests against religious bigots. Thus, it is being used as a test case by the Alliance Defense Fund (ADF), a right-wing Christian legal group. The ADF (with propaganda provided by Exodus International) is also responsible for organizing Day of Truth, a counter-demonstration to the Day of Silence. Targeting queers is nothing out of the ordinary for these people, this is just their newest attack.

Why The Mt. Hope Infinity Need Your Support

The Mt. Hope Infinity was initially represented pro-bono by an NLG lawyer who had to drop off the case, leaving our comrades without legal representation to fight the legal alliance of the most reactionary elements of the Religious Right. In order to fight this case effectively, they need money to hire a lawyer, as well as to pay all of the other expenses that come with fighting a lawsuit.

What To Do

There are two main ways to support the Mt Hope Infinity: spreading the word and raising/donating money. Spreading the word is easy: tell people about the case, tell them about bashbackinfinity.wordpress.com, and tell them to spread the word. To raise money, host a fundraiser!

Donate online at:

bashbackinfinity.wordpress.com

To send money, send checks to:

BB!
PO box 27201
Lansing, MI 48909-7201

(if you're uncomfortable with sending a check without a name on it, email bashbackinfinity@hushmail.com).



FOLLOWING THE MONEY THE NGLTF, THE HRC AND PRISONS

"We need to recognize that the leaders of the forces of political and religious intolerance are not driven primarily by anti-gay animus, even though it often feels that way. Instead, under their frame, anti-choice, anti-environment, anti-welfare, anti-sex, anti-immigrant and anti-LGBT philosophies not only fit together but are all intertwined. The immigration issue is a perfect example of how they do it. Both the Old and New Testament contain numerous admonitions to treat strangers from other lands well. (Failure to do so was the true sin of Sodom and Gomorrah.) How do you square that with the right's overwhelming support for 'sealing' the border, increasing the capacity of detention facilities by tens of thousands and increasing penalties for those who hire undocumented persons?"

– NGLTF Press Release "'Si Se Puede!': Immigration is and needs to be a gay issue"

For many LGBT activists in the United States, the names National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) and Human Rights Campaign (HRC) are nearly synonymous with gay rights. As two of the largest LGBT civil rights organizations, they lobby for an entirely assimilationist agenda, pushing issues such as Don't Ask, Don't Tell and marriage equality to the front of political discourse in an effort to secure equality under law. With boards comprised of capitalists and activists-turned-politicians, it is clear that both organizations represent interests hostile to queer liberation and anti-assimilationism.

The national gay rights organizations, like their local counterparts, are funded by and beholden to the bourgeoisie. A main sponsor of both the NGLTF and the HRC is Wells Fargo, one of the largest banks in the United States. Wells Fargo is one of the largest investors in GEO Group, a private prison company that operates, among other facilities, part of Guantanamo Bay and several Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention facilities. While the NGLTF

is decrying the Right's call for "increasing the capacity of detention facilities by tens of thousands," one of their largest sponsors stands to profit from exactly that expansion.

Wells Fargo is certainly not the only corporate sponsor for these organizations. Indeed, it is no shock to see a litany of corporations on the sponsorship lists for allegedly grassroots organizations. Bank of America, Grey Goose Vodka, Showtime, and American Airlines all contribute to these organizations as well. The collaboration of capital with activist organizations leads to two conclusions: first, that these organizations cannot serve as a challenge to capital because their funding relies on being safe for capital; and second, that corporate donations are beneficial to both the organizations and the corporations. By funding political organizations, corporations both secure a progressive image for marketing purposes and create a loyal opposition with their largesse.

Wells Fargo, as mentioned above, is one of the main investors in GEO Group. GEO Group is a large player in the market of privatized prisons. This market has been growing rapidly because of both an increased drive towards privatization of government functions and increasing incarceration rates. With over 50 facilities in the United States (a mix of federal and state facilities) and 8 facilities overseas, GEO has a large and expanding presence in the private prison industry. GEO Group specifically has several facilities under contract with ICE to hold the detainees from the racist round-up of immigrants in the United States, as well as similar prisons for those considered undocumented in other countries. These detention facilities are built in order to satisfy the demand created by the Gestapo-like roundups of people targeted by their skin color and class in order to enforce an imposed border. In the context of the focus on national security and the accompanying racist terror, this demand has been expanding rapidly.

The most apparent (and simplest) contradiction between the NGLTF's stated goal and Wells Fargo's business practices is the fact that there are undocumented queer people. An expected progressive analysis of this contradiction would likely focus on the specific inconsistency in regards to the intersectionality of queer struggle and immigrant struggle. However, the problem lies not in the case of any one donor, but on the implications of being funded by the capitalist class. The ideology of these organizations, along with their methodology, demonstrates a limited project that does not seek to offer a serious challenge to the existing order. Wells Fargo, by its involvement in the business of private prisons, represents a new merger of state and capital, where one of the basic functions of the state (incarceration) is placed into the hands of the market, which then creates a private demand for prisoners that the state obligingly fills. The funding of allegedly progressive groups such as the HRC and NGLTF is another part of the business strategy of corporations, such as Wells Fargo, in order to both create an image of social responsibility and promote a specific type of activism and social change that offers no real criticism of existing social conditions.

The political orientation of corporate-funded, legalist activism is entirely tied to its funding source, as is evident by the positions of the HRC and NGLTF on immigration. Both organizations give firm support to the Uniting American Families Act, which has the goal of allowing same-sex couples the same rights as heterosexual couples for purposes of immigration. While the HRC is mostly silent on immigration otherwise, the NGLTF voices its support for comprehensive immigration reform, which is shorthand

THE COLLABORATION OF CAPITAL

with activist organizations leads to two conclusions: first, that these organizations cannot serve as a challenge to capital because their funding relies on being safe for capital; and second, that corporate donations are beneficial to both the organizations and the corporations.

for a more efficient immigration policy that includes stronger border enforcement along with limited legalization for migrant workers in order to more effectively exploit their labor. Rather than being based out of humanitarian concerns, such reform only serves to assist the state and capital in their functions. Capital benefits from a legalized workforce, as this limits the instability that comes with mass raids and deportations. With stronger controls over the domestic workforce, the state also benefits from such reform because it serves the purposes of national security. However, such reform does nothing to address the racism and exploitation that affects immigrants in this country.

It may seem irrelevant to criticize LGBT civil rights organizations on the basis of their immigration position, but with their funding sources and their attempts at connecting with activists around multiple issues, they position themselves as players in the immigration debate. The NGLTF specifically positions itself against the Right and the racist terror that they promote. The NGLTF makes use of the language of intersectionality, noting that the Right ties together several issues under a broader religious-political ideology. To counter this, the NGLTF seeks to build ties across the Left with various identity-based groups in a quest for a decidedly statist/capitalist idea of 'social justice'. It is, however, difficult to resolve the contradiction of being against the expansion of detention centers for undocumented people while simultaneously accepting a large chunk of funding from the capitalists that profit off of these detention centers. Since the abolition of detention centers would be against the self-interest of these organizations, why do they express solidarity with people intended to fill the detention centers? One explanation is that these organizations seek to obscure the root of the problem and divert people's energy into activism that, in the end, only strengthens the sociopolitical order instead of challenging it. Another explanation is that their focus on other issues is motivated by coalition-building. The political alliances with other identities becomes a political maneuver in order to establish credibility for the organization by taking the 'correct' position on a variety of issues to appeal to the 'social justice' movement, when in fact the only intention is to advocate for a specific class inside a specific identity. In the case of the NGLTF, both explanations make sense.

I am not writing to propose a campaign for the HRC and NGLTF to refuse funding from Wells Fargo. If one corporation stops funding these groups, others will take their place. Instead, I write this in an attempt to articulate a queer anarchist analysis of the relationship of these organizations to the project of total liberation. It is no contradiction that corporate interests fund activism. This allows for such organizations to ensure that activism never threatens their class interests, and these class interests include the fascist detention centers—fascist not in the pejorative sense, but rather as the very clear merger of state and corporate power. Rather than seeing these organizations as misguided allies or a competing perspective towards the same goal, they should be seen as the enemies they are.

It is no contradiction that corporate interests fund activism. This allows for such organizations to ensure that activism never threatens their class interests, and these class interests include the fascist detention centers—fascist not in the pejorative sense, but rather as the very clear merger of state and corporate power.

Ditching the Boys' Club

How Heteronormativity Supports Patriarchy

by sato t.

The major reason for me writing this essay is due to an observation I made quite some time ago of radicals adopting, or rather maintaining, the same gender behaviors of the status quo, that is, heteronormativity and heterosexism. Heteronormativity, as a working definition for this essay, is the social construction that constrains 'men' and 'women' to their assigned gender roles within a society. Heterosexism, which is inherent in the subscription of heteronormativity, is the enforcement of this ideology, whether intentional or unintentional. While all people who participate within a heteronormative society are hurt, this dichotomy becomes an oppressive force for individuals who do not subscribe to these tendencies. This includes those who self-indentify or are assigned as queer, trans, genderqueer, intersex, gender variant, lesbian, gay, pansexual, etc.

Heteronormativity complements and supports patriarchy—a system where men dominate over non-men. This becomes particularly apparent when examining gendered divisions in labor. Whereas men have historically been enabled to take on labor that is considered economically productive to the capitalist mode of production, womyn and transfolk have been pushed to reproductive labor. This work, which is necessary for the maintenance of productivity in capital, is economically invisible within the construct of the market. The outcome of this invisibility devalues the work of mothers, social workers, educators, childcare providers, caregivers, sex workers, etc, which all have a far lower average income than occupations such as C.E.O.s, construction workers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. heteronormativity keeps all of these occupations gendered, supporting the dominance of men within a given society, i.e. patriarchy.

Understanding this, it is necessary to apply this analysis to radical practices. Oppression, in all of its varied forms, takes power from oppressed peoples. This means that racism, sexism, heterosexism, ablism, classism, etc., though being uniquely different in their practice and application, are heavily intertwined and support one another. By keeping different oppressed groups divided, the concentration of power in a select few becomes easier to maintain. Therefore, if heterosexism remains unchallenged within radical organizing and resistance, the same hierarchical structures of oppression that we aim to destroy are simultaneously sustained.

In its practice, heteronormativity amongst radicals often takes form as cisgender* radical men taking on forms of organizing that, though vitally important to combating oppression, are deeply gendered in their orientation. This work often lends itself to being visible, exciting, sexy, and empowering. The work that is left undone or incomplete is thus left for the womyn and some transfolk to pick up. This work can include cooking, cleaning, childcare, emotional support, legal support, and in general, support. For men who have ever wondered why womyn and transfolk are not present within their organizations or cliques, it would be infinitely more useful to wonder why men aren't involving themselves in organizing that focuses on providing direct support to other organizers.

Direct support has a wide array of forms. Providing childcare, for instance, enables parents to participate in forms of organizing that they would otherwise be barred from. However, there is nothing revolutionary about men being absent from this labor process. Womyn, who have been taking on this work for thousands of years, already understand the importance of this work regardless of ideology, and it is a man's privilege to not already comprehend this fact. This remains true for other forms of internal support work, such as cooking for convergences, meetings, and actions, or cleaning up afterward. Thus, one of the most revolutionary acts for a man to take on is these necessary forms of labor.

Support also goes beyond these more tangible roles. As radicals, it must be acknowledged that we live in a toxic society where unequal power dynamics are normalized and encouraged, and as such, we all are deeply affected by its corrosive nature to varying degrees. Being subjected to these social constructs requires healing on all parts, with men being no exception to this fact. Being ready to provide emotional support thus has to be a priority for men

against sexism, both for the womyn and transfolk they claim to be allies to, as well as the men they stand with. Too often men rely on womyn to be their pillar of strength, whether it is partners, mothers, sisters, etc. It is therefore imperative for men to be ready not only to listen to other men, but also to be willing to feel vulnerable around other men. This act helps crack the socialization that men are without emotions or feelings, and shakes heteronormative tendencies.

By providing emotional support, men are put in the position of listening. This challenges heteronormativity, as cisgender men are socialized to take up space rather than make room for it. In its practice, providing emotional support means letting the person who needs support to speak freely and uninterrupted as well as taking to account as to what their immediate and general needs are based on what they articulate. It does not mean the supporter providing advice and suggestions as to what they believe their needs to be (unless this is request by the person who needs support.) Listening, as well as believing, is an act of empathy and outreach, two core concepts at the heart of any radical ideology.

As well as providing support, it is also necessary to be able to ask for support. It is the easiest thing for men to remain emotionally distant for fear of being made vulnerable. Having theoretical discussions and intellectual debates, though intrinsically important to the development of radical ideas, too often monopolizes the interactions between men. By speaking in theory, the speaker remains distant from the topic and is able to keep more interpersonal feelings on the topic hidden. Though this is sometimes necessary given the circumstances, heteronormative practices are encouraged and

* Cisgender: Refer
whose gender is
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giving power to
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used in contrast

strengthened when men continuously shield their emotions in this fashion.

In combating heteronormativity, it is necessary to question the creation and existence of space from a gendered lens. People who are in positions of privilege, whether they are men, white, cisgender, able-bodied, wealthy, straight, etc. are enabled to be ignorant of oppression dynamics, and thus are granted the ability to take up as much space as they so choose. Some examples of this are white people driving recklessly without being pulled over, marches moving at a pace that is too quick for someone who is disabled, straight people taking over a gay bar, wealthy home owners buying property in a low-income neighborhood, or men telling rape jokes despite having never been the target of sexual abuse or trauma. Men should be conscious of how their presence affects space, and respect situations where safe space is created for non-men by remaining absent.

The process of dismantling heteronormative and heterosexist practices should be deeply introspective for everyone, but men especially. It must be understood that each gendered practice that we develop was at some point taught and learned, and that the necessary deconstruction of these practices is not an immediate realization, but rather a never-ending process. This cannot come from a place born of self-hatred, as heteronormativity, although being an oppressive force that privileges certain individuals, is something that requires a process of collective healing by all people irrespective of their gender. By men embracing collective care, self-love and empathy towards others, these structures of heteronormativity begin to lose their power, pushing for the liberation of us all.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE DEMISE OF BASH BACK!

Bash Back! was started in 2007 as a network of queer anarchists to have a specifically queer presence at the Democratic National Convention and Republican National Convention protests in the summer of 2008 noticing this absence at past mobilizations. Bash Back! quickly expanded, with chapters across the United States. One of the main themes of the 2010 Bash Back! convergence was the assertion "Bash Back! is dead." I would like to offer some thoughts on this assertion and its implications.

On the Network

Bash Back! formed as a network with a specific goal in mind: the DNC/RNC convention protests. At the time of BB!'s formation, there were no national organizations/networks specifically for queer anarchists. While long-standing queer anarchist groups have existed in specific cities and regions for years, these groups have a local focus. Bash Back! formed to fill a need for a national network of queer anarchists, which was demonstrated by its rapid growth and popularity. The establishment of a national network was deemed useful at the time for its ability to gather a large number of anarchist queers in the resistance of the previously mentioned conventions/summits. This also demonstrates the desire for a large number people to rally specifically around this identity.

Points of unity were adopted and more chapters popped up across the country. The only requirement for membership was adopting the points of unity, which led to the creation of a decentralized, very informal network of chapters (with some international presence). The structure of the network also facilitated quick expansion, because it did not operate on a traditional, formal principles of organization and instead focused on building a network between autonomous local chapters. Emphasis was placed upon taking action. Ideological and tactical unity was not prioritized beyond the points of unity. Even these points offered only a basic framework of broadly defined anti-oppression, anti-assimilation, liberation, and diversity of tactics. Bash Back!, as a network rather than a formal organization (such as a federation), did not make any formal attempts to define its political analysis.

The local chapters that comprised Bash Back! were far from homogeneous. Chapters were linked only by a name and perhaps some social connections, with each chapter being unique in how they formed, how they operated, and what they did. For this reason, it is difficult to speak of Bash Back! members as a distinct group, since there was no ideological unity implied by membership in Bash Back!, nor was membership controlled or tracked in any way. Some chapters were more active than others, with the Midwest having a high concentration of especially active chapters.

While there was no central organization for Bash Back!, there have still been national convergences after the founding convergence. These are different from conventions or conferences, as participation was not limited to members of the organization, and no decisions about the network itself are made. Rather, the convergences focused on the strengthening of the network in an informal sense.

On Tension and the Death of Bash Back!

> *"Is our violence one of substance or of image?"*
> – "Questions to be Addressed Before the Bash Back! Convergence in Denver"

Once BB! began its rapid expansion (after the summer of 2008), questions of political unity began to arise, culminating in conflict at the 2009 convergence. One reason is that, with the growth of Bash Back! across the continent, the personal connections that had been established due to the relative proximity of the first chapters were no longer in place. While there has been no formal political position for the organization, informally it seemed that the first chapters had strong affinity with the others, especially tactically. At the 2009 convergence, strong disagreements (both political and tactical) arose between participants in an action. In the absence of strong personal connections, these conflicts were intensified.

By the time of the 2009 convergence, Bash Back! actions that involved multiple chapters had also become less frequent. Actions were taken by individual chapters, rather than the multiple chapters that had been involved in the DNC/RNC protests, the Mt. Hope Church action, and the Avenge Duanna campaign. While it is impossible to pinpoint a reason for this decline, it is likely that the decrease in multi-chapter actions contributed to the declining tactical unity. The formation of personal connections from taking action together declined as BB! grew. This is not necessarily a bad thing, as it could indicate a shift of focus to working locally or to clandestine activity. In any case, it points to a weakening of the inter-chapter bonds that had characterized Bash Back!'s origins.

Political and tactical differences, unable to be resolved by any organizational process within Bash Back!, grew into competing visions of the organization. At the 2010 convergence, this culminated in a discussion regarding the future of BB!. The competing visions of Bash Back! centered

on the organizational form of the group. Some people advocated an organizational form more akin to a federation, with formalized relations between chapters and a stronger emphasis on political/theoretical unity. Others claimed that Bash Back! is dead/ought to die as an organization.

Many points would come into question later: the question of organization versus anti-organizationalism, affirming queer identity versus negating identity, the nonviolent versus those calling for a diversity of tactics, autonomy versus revolt, building an autonomous queer liberation that displaces state/heterosexual power versus destroying the existent. It is necessary here to make clear the role of identity in creating these tensions. Those who felt that self-identification was the necessary basis for entering into struggle clashed with those who saw understandability and identification as necessarily the recuperation of struggle.

Bash Back! was declared by some people to be dead immediately before the 2010 convergence in Denver. While the veracity of the statement is still a point of contention, the idea of Bash Back! being dead provides an excellent starting point for a discussion of the role of Bash Back!.

As an informal network, BB! was never focused on the tasks of formal organizations, such as signing up members, conducting political education, or defining campaigns or strategic directions. These tasks, if they were to be done, were left up to each chapter. Thus it is difficult to speak of BB! as a whole, because it did not have explicit organizational positions or policies.

Indeed, the chapters across the country varied in size, activity, and organization. Some chapters openly recruited while others were established from preexisting networks of friends and comrades. The wide differences between chapters makes discussing BB! problematic, because what constituted BB! was never clearly defined beyond an agreement with the points of unity. The ease of joining BB! allowed for tremendous growth in visibility and numbers, with actions across the country being claimed by BB! chapters and members.

Those who felt that self-identification was the necessary basis for entering into struggle clashed with those who saw understandability and identification as necessarily the recuperation of struggle.

On Organization

> *"If we are ever to have a member-list, count us off of it."*
> – "Questions to be Addressed Before the Bash Back! Convergence in Denver"

The extremely decentralized organizational form that Bash Back! adopted at its inception brought with it limits and trade-offs. These limits, coupled with the identity-based nature of BB!, can provide some theoretical insight into the rise and fall of Bash Back!.

Political and theoretical unity was not a priority for Bash Back!, with action and networking as the main impetus and expression. While this position is not inherently problematic, the internal contradictions of queer identity resulted in complications in the attempt to build a network of queer anarchists. Because queer is widely understood to be an explicitly social identity rather than an explicitly political identity, the actual political views of the people who constituted Bash Back! varied tremendously. This occurred despite the anarchist principles of BB!; anarchist was used in a sense of a passive political identity, rather than asserting any specific political unity. The lack of political affinity became problematic when membership was based on a social identity. This limited the options that Bash Back! had for organizational form, as any shift towards formalized structure such as a federation model would be hampered by the lack of ideological unity amongst the loosely-defined members.

Bash Back!'s organizational form also had implications for the longevity of the group. Lacking strongly defined membership, delegated responsibilities, and specified strategy and goals, BB! had no processes by which to sustain itself in any official sense. As stated earlier, the group was founded with an emphasis on networking for a specific set of actions (the DNC/RNC protests), that is, to fulfill a specific need. Rather than focusing on organizational permanence for its own sake, Bash Back! relied on the minimum amount of structure needed to achieve its goal of building a network of queer anarchists.

Organization in response to a specific need makes organizational permanence unimportant once the need has been satisfied. If organizational permanence becomes a secondary concern, then the demise of an organization is not undesirable. Indeed, dissolution is a preferable alternative to continuing an organization for its own sake. The product of a shift from a highly decentralized network to a more formal organization would irrevocably change the character of the organization. The desire to attempt such a radical restructuring of an existing organization indicates that a premium has been placed on the name and legacy of the organization, instead of the actions that created its reputation. If an organization is not meeting people's needs because of structural limits, it seems more reasonable to discard it.

The End

"Fuck, Just Fuck"
– writing on a wall during action planning debate BB! convergence May 2010

Bash Back!, at its inception, was an attempt to fill a void—the lack of a queer anarchist network. Bash Back! was constituted by the affinity of its participants, and this affinity was expressed through action, and new chapters emerged as a result of a certain resonance carried by Bash Back! actions. While the origins of Bash Back! as a tendency based on resonance fostered its growth, it also allowed for different chapters to re-envision Bash Back! from their particular political desires and local situations of struggle. Bash Back!'s status as a network imposed certain limits; limits that could not be broken without fundamentally shifting from the model that allowed for its initial success.

To speak of the death of an organization generally connotes a negative event, but this relies on the assumption that organizational permanence is a good thing. Moving past this assumption, the question becomes: have we accomplished our goals with this organization, this means, this tool? If the answer is affirmative, if the organization has been pushed to its limits, perhaps its death is deserved. If Bash Back! is dead, the resurgence in anarchist queer activity and networking remains. Relationships now exist that would not have existed had Bash Back! never formed. When our projects reach the end of their usefulness, letting them go is no cause for concern.

The L Word

Lesbian Values: Liberal or Liberation?

A historically-grounded critique of the creation of mainstream queer culture & media and its impact today

— by Taiga Run — Trans Dyke Revolutionary — forestreturned@gmail.com

The L Word is a cornerstone of contemporary queer media. Queers throughout society watch this TV show ravenously. As queers, we are written out of history and omitted from most cultural productions. We watch this show so ravenously because we are culturally starved through our exclusion from media; we are desperate to see a cultural production we can relate to. But who can relate to *The L Word*?

Over the past two decades, it has become increasingly acceptable to put Gay and Lesbian characters into movies and television. *The L Word* was groundbreaking because it was the first TV show centered on the lives of lesbians. Although this show is progressive in some ways, it presents a very narrow image of lesbian culture.

The most glaring inconsistency with the lesbians of *The L Word* and the lesbians of the real world is money. On *The L Word*, everyone seems to have plenty of money, nice clothes, and big houses. Their class position is laid out very clearly and even the working class characters are shown as completely removed from working class culture and, by some miracle, living very comfortable lives.[1]

This phenomenon can be understood with an anarchist social lens: network television is progressive enough to do a show about liberals, but is counter-revolutionary in their unwillingness to do a show about the oppressed. It is pretty astonishing that in this culture you can make a show about a racially diverse group of queer women and not have them portrayed as 'the oppressed.' In order to do this, any social hardship they face must be balanced out with enough privilege to keep them from experiencing their lives as hell on earth and pushing for radical change. For most of them it is class privilege and cisgender privilege, and for some, white privilege too.

When analyzing media in anti-oppression circles we talk about the proliferation of "artificial integration" and the role it serves in society. This is the new phenomenon where media presents more ethnically diverse groups of friends and associates than we tend to see in our real lives. As both political correctness and racism are gaining power in this country, our televisions seem to reflect a world that doesn't exist. One is left to wonder if this same thing is happening with *The L Word*; do rich queers like this actually exist? If this question was to be asked 50 years ago, the answer would be no; however, currently there does seem to be a Gay and Lesbian bourgeoisie (though I suspect them to be a more predominantly white group of people).

Let's contrast this ability of the characters of *The L Word* to assimilate themselves into upper-class society to the reality of life for a black Hollywood filmmaker in the 70's.

In 1971 Melvin Van Peebles, a black Hollywood filmmaker, dropped out of the industry, walking away from a three movie deal, to make the first black power movie: *Sweet Sweetbacks Baadasssss Song*. The film was named as such to fool the white supremacist union, the Screen Actors Guild, into thinking it was pornography and thus, not worth notice. The movie was about a street-walking sex worker who turns revolutionary and fights the racist society surrounding him. Sweetback kills two cops in order to save a Black Panther who was being abused. Most of the film is an intensive

police chase, and in the end, Sweetback gets away. This film was incendiary and no one in the industry wanted anything to do with it. Melvin's resistance ran so deep that he refused to submit his film to the Ratings Board declaring that it was an "all white jury." And, somehow, with the whole world against him, he managed to make a successful, independent, X-rated movie, whose name you couldn't even print in newspapers. Could you imagine this happening today?

Even with whatever privilege Melvin was afforded with his salary, he still saw a sharp divide between himself and the bourgeois. This divide was so sharp that he abandoned the bourgeois of Hollywood and dedicated an independent film to everyone in the struggle against them. It is easy to understand Melvin's position and consciousness of himself as oppressed by remembering that the last film he made for Hollywood was "Watermelon Man." This was the indignity of being a black film maker in the 70's.

"Those who control the present, control the past and those who control the past control the future."
— George Orwell

Life isn't perfect for the characters from *The L Word*; however, every hardship they face is viewed in the liberal framework as an "issue" and, although they deal with many "*difficult* issues," they never address the root cause of problems and how they relate to the greater dynamics of power and oppression in our society. Just like the real upper class queers, they have no interest in challenging the power structures that they benefit from. None of these people will find themselves working alongside revolutionaries to overthrow the current order. They will sit back and explain why every radical action was "incorrect."

When we look at our lives as queers we see something much different from a disconnected array of "issues." We see gay bars in Atlanta being raided; we see trans women of color being murdered in the streets; we see harassment at the workplace; we see constant abuse in high school and middle school next to the incredible suicide rate of trans and queer youth; and we see trans and queer people pushed into sex-work or winding up in prison. We find ourselves being persecuted by a society built on genocide, war, slavery, prisons, and abuse of immigrant labor.

These are not issues, these are our Lives.

As the chaotic domination of capitalism, colonial white supremacy, cis-hetero-patriarchy, and all forms of oppression rage on, we queers find ourselves on the front lines of resistance. This world has offered us nothing but contempt, and we are glad to pay it back in kind. By examining queer resistance for the past 50 years, and studying the strategy of counter-revolution by the empire, perhaps we will be better able to wage our war of liberation and challenge the counter-revolutionary forces within queer culture.

The struggles of the 60's and 70's changed the political landscape of this country; however, there was a strategic response from the dominant power structure. People of Color, Women, Queers, Trans people, poor people, and people with physical and mental disabilities, were in the streets fighting for liberation. The powerful fought against us with guns and tear gas, but they also fought us with co-optation and assimilation. They brought a small segment of the oppressed into the middle class and an even smaller group of the most assimilated into the lower echelons of the ruling class. And for what end? It does not improve the position of any oppressed people to give us tokens of representation in the middle class who are marginalized even within their privilege. The real success of the ruling class was the creation of a counter-revolutionary force within every oppressed identity and instilling middle class aspirations among some of the oppressed.

This new material condition has significantly changed the landscape of struggle-- the politics of intersectionality and collective liberation have never been more important to revolutionary movements. All organizing along only one line of oppression is now doomed to failure. We can see these failures manifest all around us in the movements of liberal feminism, the Human Rights Campaign, the Nation of Islam under the leadership of Farrakhan, or the Teamsters[2] (or the AFL-CIO).

When we recognize the fight to be against *all* oppression, not just *our* oppression, we must also realize that how we deal with privilege in the anarchist scene will be a defining factor in how well we can work together and how effective we can be. Through dealing with our own privilege and dealing with those who are privileged in the same way we are, we become better able to support those who are oppressed in ways we are not.

In our anarchist circles it is not a new idea to base our strategy on collective liberation. The next step is developing a way to challenge the counter-revolutionary forces within queer culture, and most importantly, subverting those who they influence. As I see it, the most powerful weapon in the enemy's arsenal is control over what is taught in public education about the civil rights movement.

"Those who control the present, control the past and those who control the past control the future."
— George Orwell

EVERY SOCIAL MOVEMENT NOW IS LIVING IN THE WAKE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

The powerful understand that through a revisionist history of the civil rights movement, they can change the nature of social movements today. They tell us the story that they want us to know. They inform us of the "correct" way to struggle.

Why do you think the powerful would plaster Martin Luther King Jr.'s face everywhere?

They do this because they have successfully altered the story of Martin Luther King Jr. into a dogmatically non-violent, "can't we all just get along," liberal.

If we knew the real MLK, they wouldn't be so fast to plaster his face in every poor brown community. Remember that MLK said that, "those who make non-violent revolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable," and MLK preached a strategy of non-violent direct-action. This shows that MLK preferred non-violence, but believed a revolution was necessary regardless.

Contemporary liberals who invoke MLK are not revolutionary. They pick up the pieces of MLK that they like, the parts they were taught about from the dominant culture, and use it to stop radical action. These are the counter-revolutionaries that we find in all mainstream groups of queers.

Next time you are at a meeting or a demonstration with some of these people around, try dropping a militant MLK quote. There is nothing more satisfying than watching liberals shit their pants with fear.

The liberals are the lap-dogs of the counter-revolutionaries-- the lower-middle class and working class wing of the counter-revolutionary force within oppressed identities. They join in with people who are struggling for liberation, not to further the movement towards liberation, but to control the method and tone of the struggle. The characters of *The L Word* will never be found amongst revolutionaries. They have contented themselves to their $1,000/plate fund raising dinners and other sorts of "activism" within the non-profit industrial complex.

The characters of *The L Word* will never be found amongst revolutionaries. They have contented themselves to their $1,000/plate fund raising dinners and other sorts of "activism" within the non-profit industrial complex.

What ground could be gained in our struggle through challenging the revisionist history of the civil rights movement?

Through presenting our own history to those who are currently influenced by the ideas of the counter-revolutionaries, we open the possibility of stripping them of their base of support. This is one process of subversion that could work towards building a queer movement with teeth.

We will not get what we need by asking, lobbying, or reforming. We, like all oppressed people, will only get what we can take and only keep what we can defend. With the force of our arms, the determination of our spirit, and strength of our communalized support networks, we will fight always towards liberation.

Endnotes:

1.In this respect, The L Word is reminiscent of the TV show *Friends* which gained infamy in anti-oppression circles for two things: the first was a near complete exclusion of people of color (an incredible feat for a show about New York); the second was the inexplicable amount of money they must have had based on the size of apartments they were living in.

2.Maybe this is just personal beef, but while I was in Detroit for the US Social Forum I was at a demonstration against a giant garbage incinerator and a group of Teamsters were there. I was lookin' fly as usual, and I noticed one of the Teamsters casually walk up beside me and another one casually walk in front of me and take a picture. Then they both walked away, back to their group of friends to laugh about the picture. I know it is not the deepest criticism of the Teamsters, but the validity of direct experience cannot be denied. The Teamsters devalue solidarity and collective liberation to the point where they will exoticize queer and trans people who are at an action with them.

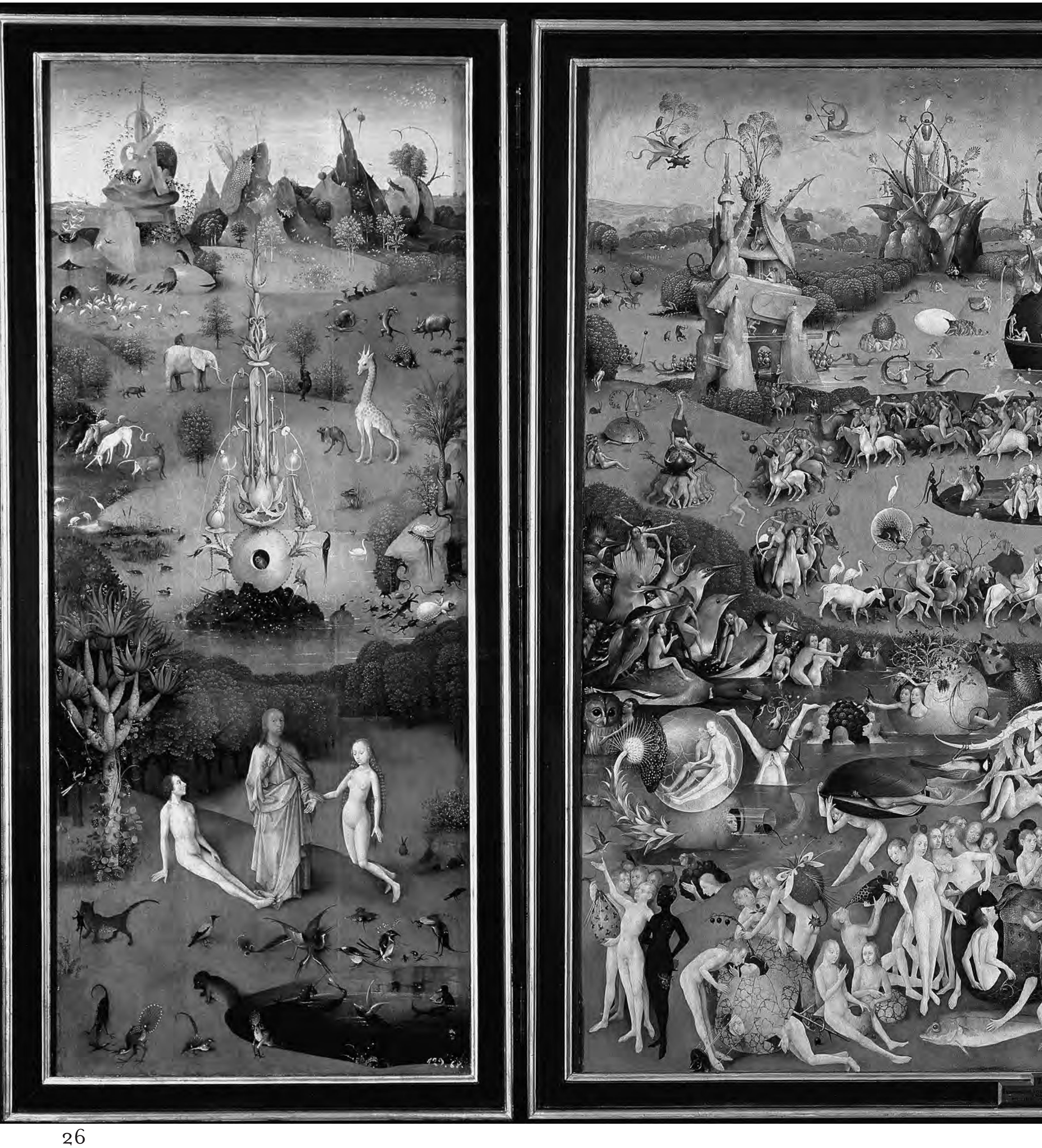


…we have seen the future and it's every bit as lethal as the past; and thus what is queerest about us, queerest within us, and queerest despite us, is our willingness to insist intransitively: to insist that the future stops here.

–Lee Edelman

next spread: The Garden of Earthly Delights by Hieronymous Bosch

Preliminary Notes on



Modes of Reproduction
gender mutiny



You had me at necrophilia.
– Q——

creationism

…we believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ,
the only Son of God,
eternally begotten of the Father,
God from God, Light from Light,
true God from true God,
begotten, not made,
of one substance with the Father.
Through Him all things were made.
– The Nicene Creed

No logic is more complete than that of monism, though none is more often protested. As long as all Creation is derived from God and His written Word, no assault can breach the walls of its castle. In Truth the logic of monism contains everything, and it can have no enemy. The cries of atheists and non-believers cannot reach the ears of its inhabitant, because heresy is logically not possible.

God's reproduction adds nothing to His perfect self. God can only reproduce Himself—man in His image, Son in His image—copies, not offspring[1]. God's Creation is made by Him only, it cannot surpass Him nor exist beyond Him.

When God masturbates, He reproduces. Wherever His jism is spilled, life bursts forth.

In a flash, it's as if you were born, flung into dark. Restless space, utterly foreign to the Last Times. No idea where you are naturally, you are shipwrecked, you have only the word shipwreck *as lantern and explanation, for the rest you are in the dark. All is lost. This lostness—a state you knew nothing about. You are adult and biped, but the species is unknown. You know nothing about being. We don't remember this world at all.*

In monism, there is only one gender, that of man. Man who was made in God's image and, like God, reproduces by spilling his seed onto the fallow earth. The earth—what we would call woman—does not constitute a distinct gender to herself, rather, she is without singularity or soul, an empty material form like the earth itself.

To speak of woman in the ideology of monism is an impossibility—that is, unless one speaks of a nothingness, an absence, a ghost. Not being a man, woman cannot exist in God's Creation because that which is not One, that is not God, is not. The void is woman's ontological origin. She emerges from nothingness because her existence is not only impossible but quite impermissible in monist logic. If a woman did exist (which, of course, she could not), she would have to be a nothingness. And so it was only by continuously asserting her very nonexistence that she was able to exist. She could not, in monist Truth, be, and so she was a ghost when she lived in the garden, and it was a void that suffered the pain of childbirth, and a specter that passed through the halls of the king to leave behind traces of desire on his body.

procreationism

When girls and boys reach puberty, their bodies start to change and become more mature. From this time, if a male and a female have sexual intercourse (often called 'making love', or 'sleeping with someone'), it is possible that the girl could get pregnant, i.e. a baby could start to grow.
– How Babies Are Made

From the moment we begin to speak of woman as such, we are not speaking of God and His world, but rather the world of opposition. Once woman existed as even a thought, in fact in any form exceeding nonexistence, monism's ontological center could not hold. It must be said that in this crisis lay an intimate potential for the utter annihilation of the existent—would woman, as yet nonexistent herself, a being of the void, who came from nothing and returned all to nothingness, could she negate the existent that was her own negation? But so fierce was woman's affirmation of her own existence that her force would not cause monism to stagger and collapse under the weight of the impossibility of something truly outside itself, but rather would balance and harmonize Man.

All that separates modernity from what existed before it is the radical shift from a monolithic existent to a dichotomous one.

We don't stop killing ourselves. We die one another here and there my beloved and it's an obsession, it's an exorcism, it's a feignt what we are feigning I have no idea is it a sin a maneuver a vaccination the taming of a python the fixing-up a cage, it's an inclination, we don't stop rubbing up against our towers touching our lips to them… eroticism to the nth degree lips on the sacred scroll, the innocent handle of the book, the saint, the simpleton, we know all about it, we always thought it, we'd also always feared for our towers, such striking clarity, and naked, but what terror when the real planes really crashed into them, a black terror that bit into our hearts, so this in reality can happen, in reality there was a tomb on one of our bodies, this was a fact and no waking, we'd awakened assassinated…

The Promethean feat is accomplished. The act of creation stolen from God and spread before mere mortals for their defilement. They engage in carnal desire and, when small, wet, stunted humans emerge from their loins, they marvel at their godlike power to create life.

The image of the one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth no longer prevails. His Creation has forsaken Him, and now they bow down before false idols and genuflect before the image of the Child.

God still lingers here. With His masturbatory acts of

Creation derided, He puts auto-eroticism aside and panders to the heresy of His flock. He constructs His procreative Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—father, mother, and Child. This divine mimicry of the people's profane procreative acts is too queer. He has not admitted the existence of woman, of dualism, of the Other; and in the binary regime, heterosexuality is sacrosanct. From now on, they worship the Child.

While before the Creator had been the object of adoration, procreationism displaces the focus to that which is created. The act of sex is banal enough that only the conservative thinkers, attached still to the old ways of praising God, could envision it as a divine act. The parent is imbued with no shroud of mystery or the unknown. But the Child—who can remember his childhood?—the Child is an image that could stand for the sacred mystery of reproduction.

The image is singular but its source is binary. Now the myth that subjectivities come from God is pushed aside by the idea that one exists simply because one's parents fucked at some point and didn't use birth control. Religious faith in an event one didn't experience now shattered, only a scientific and historically rigorous explanation will suffice. One still does not remember one's conception or birth, but the scientific method confirms that other babies are made this way, and so 'I was too.'

The procreative myth—or fact—structures and gives meaning to the binary opposition of the sexes. The categories of male and female have meaning and power because their stability and duality is generative. Like God's potency to make life spring from Himself, the male and the female, in their opposition and union, have the power to create life. No longer "God made me, therefore I am," but now "my mother and father made me, therefore I am."

The family constitutes the procreative apparatus, distinguished from the creative apparatus by a binary opposition inherent in the inclusion of woman into the realm of substance—while from God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost were begotten, not made, and remained of one substance with the Father, it is only through the union of opposite sexes that babies are made. A monist world could self-reproduce in perfect singularity and sameness, but once woman had posited herself in her difference, the force of her Otherness was established as a procreative force. And so it would be with the reproduction of the future, of the political order, and of capitalism.

The apple that Eve ate from the Tree of Knowledge may have initiated the fall from monist grace to dualist profanity in the mythology we know; in history it was the apple that fell on Newton's head which ushered in dualistic thought. Newton's theory identifies the forces which hold and harmonize the dualistic world in the void against threat of collapse (much as the high walls of God's castle held the monist world together). Namely, for each force there is a reaction of equal force and opposite in direction. A simple example in the system of Newtonian physics explains how two heavenly bodies of sufficient velocity can orbit each other in harmony through the dynamic of their relative forces of gravity without collapsing into each other and spreading their dust into the void. So does dualist thought balance and harmonize the world of procreationism.

Modernity is Newtonian physics is dialectics is liberalism is binary reproduction is capitalism. It is unnecessary to draw the connections between each of these, when each is an aspect of the self-same logic. The triumph of the logic of two over the logic of one defines the world we inhabit, though this world is being supplanted by the world of plurality.

From the image of the Child comes the image of the Future, our hopes and dreams, our investment in a better world for future generations. Towards the image of the Future the political project is always aimed. The Child is the Future, and just as the Family produces the Child, the political apparatus produces the Future.

The political order of modernity is liberalism. Monarchy ruled the monist world, and the binary world requires something more balanced. With one gesture the sovereignty of the state is balanced against the rights of the people while the state deploys opposing political parties and systems of checks and balances to oppose it itself against itself. The liberal system of government, quite simply, is the state-form wrapped in the logic of dichotomy. Each and every political ideology that exerts itself in the effort to combat another political tendency or to assert the power of the people in resistance or opposition to that of the government participates in the discourse of liberalism.

The world of opposition is the world of dialectics. Just as the opposition of the sexes produces the Child and together these constitute the Family, so does capitalism reproduce itself through the opposition of the classes.

In dialectics, the existent contains its own contradiction—the proletariat. The proletariat is the negative force that could destroy capitalism; rather than excluding its enemy, as woman was excluded by monism, capital locks its negative force in struggle with itself and thereby exploits its labor for production, manages its reproduction as the source of more labor, and reproduces capitalism through class struggle.

Dialectics dictate that the negative project of the proletariat—the abolition of capital—entails the destruction of the proletariat-as-such. The stakes have been raised. The negative force is no longer a logical impossibility in the realm of the existent, but a machine integral to the reproduction of the latter. At the same time, however, the former is validated, reproduced, and fed by the same order that exploits it. In the end, the desire of the proletariat for liberation and autonomy from the control of the bourgeoisie, like woman's desire to assert her existential being in the realm of man, would overpower its desire to abolish the present state of things.

Each and every stage of class struggle gave birth to another stage of capitalism, and every new manifestation was more perfect than the last. The latest high point in class struggle—May 1968—with its radical demands to sever the workers'

movement from the management of union bureaucrats (that is, its project of autonomous, liberated labor) was the most significant of these, and it birthed the postmodern era along with a mode of reproduction that surpassed dialectical opposition.

The Tower of Babel had fallen long ago; now it was the Twin Towers' turn.

re-creationism

Discover the new you...
It's your world...
A phone that gets you...
It's so you...

One can hear it on the street and in the workplace, in the college classroom and the executive boardroom, at the latest radical convergence and at the beach, at dance parties and in underground venues: the logic of duality is *so* last millennium.

We are living in a postmodern world, and you are a postmodern girl. Which is to say, you are not really a *girl* as such.

Postmodernism posits a social order in which binary structures are *destabilized*. Foremost of these is the structuring of sexual difference, the very structure which constituted the means by which life was created.

The destabilization of binary oppositional sexes constitutes a crisis in the family and in the reproduction of life, but this crisis is not one that must spell the end of reproduction. A whole assemblage of techniques of biotechnology, cyberproduction, and social work are being deployed to enable, among other things, 'queer' reproductive possibilities as well as overcome the limits of the human womb which too easily ceases to function, especially under the stress of postmodern life. This analysis falls short, however, of recognizing the way that the central questions of reproduction have been displaced from the act of baby-making to the construction of the self, just as the centering of baby-making in procreationist thought usurped the former importance of the question of cosmic creation.

The primary mode of reproduction in a post-dialectic world is the reproduction of the individual—that is, re-creationism. The postmodern singularity is not created by God or its parents, but constructed through a pluralistic process that is increasingly 'artificial,' 'social,' and, paradoxically, self-realized. This process is the process of identification[2].

The pluralistic reproductive process could not suffer limits. Each time it reproduces itself exists on an ontological scale. There is no need to speak of the modes of reproduction constituted by three, four, or fifty-four towers because, once there are three, the towers reproduce not themselves and not the relation between themselves, but more and more towers, not twin but unique and individuated, marching across the landscape at an ever-increasing rate. The World Trade Center has fallen but today there stand more skyscrapers than ever before.

> *Since their death, all their suffering..., our store of poisons entrusted to the Towers, counting of course on the jumbo apparatus of the American passions, in some the whole anxious and malificent game—of our lives, our primitive beliefs, our frissions, the deadly Greek and Bible-inspired phantasms, all that ghastly archivery we'd intuitively conserved in our Towers—hence unconsiously used as the colossal envelopes of all ideas of catastrophe, coffins customed as the temples of our death wishes.*

Diversity is the scientific imperative imposed by the evolutionary science and post-modern theories of becoming.

The stresses of the rapid evolution of commodities and commodity-forms in late-capitalism impose rapid shifts in the labor market which manifest in the postmodern worker's life as the condition of precarity. Precarity, in turn, is the impetus for the workers' continual re-creation of themselves. This process is experienced in the worker's life as the scarcity of jobs he already knows how to do; the creation of ever more numerous—and ever more abstract—job titles; the drive for continual education and training ('upgrading' himself); the loss of long-term salaried career possibilities as well as benefits and pensions; and the increase in part-time, short-term, piecemeal or waged work.

The ability of capitalism to reach new markets, now that geographical and material expansion are complete, is based on its ability to reach ever-new identities. Thus identities must be produced, and produced *as commodities*. Identification, that is, the process of re-creationism, is the apparatus that produces these identities.

Each new identity is a new tower to which consumers can flock to escape the passe nature of the old ones. Eventually—that is, soon and very soon—there will have to be a tower for each person ("You know, there could be as many genders as there are people..."), probably more, and the scale of such production far surpasses the limits of the old workplaces, which are based on the assembly-line's ability to make multiple, identical products. In the late-capitalist economy, however, each commodity must have the air of the unique, and this goes doubly for identity-commodities. The labor of this 'creative' work is displaced from the old workplaces; by social imperative and desire, the individual is put to work, unpaid (reproductive work— baby-making, class struggle, Facebook—is always unpaid), to create new identities 'for himself'.

The postmodern Spectacle is a collection of images that must increasingly be constructed uniquely for each individual, the ghost of reproduction must not linger on the screen; but it must also afford him to interact with others. An apparatus of Spectacle-production that is socially-networked affords its consumer a profile and newsfeed unique to him but also the ability to 'connect' with his 'real' friends. Reality, in the end, is the product.

Political struggle is no longer epitomized by a war of one party or class against another, nor the people against the state,

but becomes the battlefield of social war fought between many identities or forms-of-life against one another. Just as the war between parties within the government served to mask class struggle, today the war over identities masks the war of forms-of-life.

In the war over the towers, identity is the basis for political struggle as well as its aim. Struggles fought over control of the creation and maintenance of identities is no more a threat to the existent than struggles over the making of babies.

The war between forms-of-life is not a war between identities, though it may often manifest as if it were. In this war the negative party is that of the queer, the abnormal. Queer constitutes the negative force that is centrally involved in the proliferation of identity through its struggle to assert itself positively outside of the realm of the normal (each positive queer act yields yet another position within normalcy), yet only for the queer does the overcoming of its limits in struggle threaten to demolish all the towers. This is because queer is positioned to destroy the mechanism of reproduction that it inhabits and asserts—the mechanism of *difference*, of *abormality*, of *queerness*.

Let us be clear: the queer revolt is yet the avant-garde of capitalism, and that is because it is the *positive* queer revolt and not yet the purely negative one. The latter does not distinguish itself from the former by its violence and destruction alone--an assault on existing identities is inherent in the production of new ones—but by its gestures of abortion and its rendering of impotence.

The fact that we are writing these notes is evidence enough that the *purely negative* tendency has yet to reveal itself sufficiently to destroy the world as we know it.

nihilism

Aneantir le neant.
Annihilate the void.

Up to now, every critique of the social order has been more or less successful while every proposal to negate it has only accomplished a strengthening or reconfiguration of it. The existent is readily described by the discourse it contains, but the purely negative force is truly unspeakable. There is no reason to believe that the discursive elaboration of the purely negative project is at all possible. Nevertheless...

The common essence of monist, binary, and pluralist ontology is the elevation of the subject to a (singular or multiple) substance—the failure to grasp the nothingness that defines subjectivity. The question of 'why am I?' contains its own answer. Without a subject to pose the question, the question could not be posed. No reproductive apparatus is necessary to create or explain subjectivity. The origin and definition of subjectivity is the abyss; all else consists of substance that is constructed around the void and mistaken as the self. When we say that the self consists of a nothingness, this is the same as the assertion that *there is no self*.

The *avant-garde* of capitalism has been misconstrued as its enemy. Granted that the destruction of reproduction is the project of queer negation, what has come to be known as 'radical queerness' is a largely positive, rather than purely negative, project. In opposition to the world of binary gender, procreationism, the family, politics, modernism, structuralism, dialectics, &c., the 'queer revolt' posits pluralist gender, re-creationism, the identity group, identification, postmodernism, post-structuralism, multiplicitous struggle, &c. The latter constitute the reproductive apparatuses of the pluralist existent.

In a crucial point of emergence long ago, woman established herself as existent rather than plunge the monist world of Man into the void from which she came. In another, the proletariat struggled to secure its autonomous liberation from the bourgeoisie rather than destroy the bourgeoisie and itself entirely. On the stage set by the present order, the queer force is making itself busy with the proliferation of identities rather than the utter negation of them.

In the re-creationist order, life is experienced as void and death as the only escape. Such is not far from the truth. For those singularities which are born or incorporated into the reproductive order of identification—which now includes even woman, the proletariat, the queer, the hipster, the anarchist and all the rest—the void is no longer experienced as something outside the castle, but as *dwelling within*.

Like the negative project of the proletariat, the negative queer project entails the negation of the existent, of the existent's reproductive apparatuses, and of itself. What's more, the latter's self-abolition must take place not only as death, but also the murder of a certain kind of death. This is because even suicide, or self-abolition, has been subsumed under the process of re-creationism. Death is necessary in the process of self-creation because in the act of becoming, one kills the old version of himself. In order to destroy the reproductive process of re-creation, the queer must destroy the latter's false version of suicide. The queer death-drive is an urge for *pure* suicide, which is also *pure murder*.

It is no coincidence that those who theorise on themes of pluralist gender identity, postmodernism, intersectionality, and encourage the reader/subject to not kill himself and instead to kill *a part of himself in order to reinvent himself anew*.

Man's fall from grace and the collapse of the Twin Towers pale in comparison to the purely negative project of today, so awful are its manifestations. These are yet unspeakable, but if we could imagine the entire world rendered as an aborted fetus, the plunging of the universe into an abyss that opened in the space-time continuum, or the people of the world digging corpses out of their graves and fucking them endlessly, we would catch a glimpse of the death it seeks to unleash. To those who love this world, human strike will appear as no thing of beauty, but to those who hate it there is nothing as beautiful.

Pure suicide is not the suicide of the individual motivated by hopelessness, though it is *antithetical to hope*. It is not the suicide that comes from a moment of despair, but from *an entire world of despair*. It is not decided in the turn of an instant, but carefully considered over time. For before it destroys itself, the purely negative singularity strives to destroy this world, render impotent its apparatuses of reproduction, and bring to an end its sense of the Future.

> *If the Tower our mother our body our sex burned down tonight—the hypothesis cannot be rejected, the whole castle has already burned down except for the Tower, the Tower's turn will come, since what else remains to burn? How what's more to explain than that such a Tower, such a perfect gem of human grandeur not be condemned and executed in these days of perverse criminality? For sure it's a target, plans are afoot... She is there, round, delicious, appetizing, eternal, pregnant with genius and with books, and she is not there. One gulp of the plane. We are already killed. Read all about it in tomorrow's paper—*
> *if the Tower has burned, we are already dead and tomorrow we shall die of it*
> *If the Tower has not yet burned, it will burn in a day or two.*

notes

1 That these copies deteriorated over time and became an imperfect image of God is one theory given to explain the fall of monism into dualism. The myth of Lucifer suggests another theory. God reproduced Himself perfectly, but His most identical creation was that which would challenge Him. It was the likeness to God of the archangel Lucifer—his almighty power and equally strong ego—that compelled him to challenge and attempt to usurp His power. Lucifer's banishment locates him not in the dualistic system of procreationism (after all, in that scientific and material world, some still cling to belief in God, but they are overshadowed by a dominant mode of thought that is atheistic or at least agnostic), but as banished to the Void that surrounds God's castle and against which its stalwarts are constructed. Here Lucifer will corrupt the void-dwelling figure of woman, and seduce her into introducing the first cracks in the monist castle.

2 Identification is the process of *realizing oneself*. Not *recognizing* but *realizing* because identification positions itself against the logic of procreationism that the subjectivity is made (being) by positing as subjectivity as a process of realization (becoming). Becoming is one of the postmodern theorist's central concerns. The popular term 'self-identification' is thus a redundancy. The popular form of identity in the era of (positive) queer theory is the self-realized identity, the one that imposes itself in opposition to, amendment of, or spectacular 'reclamation' of one's 'socially-imposed' identity ('socially-imposed,' 'assigned,' or 'socially-constructed' because self-realization is always understood as a process of becoming, not construction, even though the self-imposed identity can itself arise only from the structures and impositions of society). *One is not born, but becomes, a woman.*

Pride was born early on June 28th, 1969. That morning, in response to the latest in a string of brutal police raids on queer bars, the patrons of the Stonewall Inn fought back. Even in the criminalized queer community of the time, the Stonewall Inn was the hang-out for those on its fringes: homeless youth, drag queens, trans people, and hustlers. The crowd was largely people of color. On that morning, they paved the way for Pride. Except their Pride was no parade. It was a fucking riot.

Over time, Pride parades have come to represent the opposite of its origins: they are permitted, sponsored, and devoid of struggle. Pride now serves as a vehicle to promote the agenda of a specific segment of the LGBT movement: white, affluent, socially acceptable consumers. Unsurprisingly, this is the opposite of the people who fought back 41 years ago. The deal works like this: as long as we queers are kept under control, they'll promise to treat us just like straight people. We'll get the same poverty, racism, police brutality, borders, boring-ass relationship models, prison sentences, and (if we're lucky) opportunities to die in imperialist wars.

This is a shit deal. Some will complain that the system hasn't kept up its part of the bargain, and it's true. But we're not concerned with that. Even if they kept their promises, it wouldn't mean anything to us. We're not interested in their deal. We're not interested in being controlled. We're interested in the freedom to live our lives how we see fit, and the freedom to have control of our own bodies. We're interested in abolishing every aspect of this society.

See, we have pride too. But our pride looks like a riot, not a parade. Our pride is a struggle against every repressive part of this society, from heteronormativity to gay assimilation, from capitalism to prisons, from borders to cops. We want freedom, and not the false freedom that assimilation offers. We want liberation.

-some queer hooligans

Text of a flyer distributed at Queers Fucking Queers dance party
Seattle, WA June 27, 2010

Radical Queers:

Bash Back! News: bashbacknews.wordpress.com
Black and Pink: blackandpink.org
Gender Mutiny: gendermutiny.wordpress.com
Queer Zine Archive Project: qzap.org
BB! Legal Defense Fund: bashbacklegal.weebly.com
Bash Back! Infinity: bashbackinfinty.wordpress.com
Fierce and Fabulous Krew: queers519.wordpress.com
Against Equality: againstequality.org

Anarchy:

Anarchist News: anarchistnews.org
Infoshop: infoshop.org
Modesto Anarcho: modestoanarcho.org
Little Black Cart: littleblackcart.com
Fire to the Prisons: firetotheprisons.com
The Anarchist Library: theanarchistlibrary.org
Libcom: libcom.org
Zine library: zinelibrary.info
Tacoma Anarchist Network: tan.anarchyplanet.org

Pink and Black Distro Titles:

Pink and Black Attack #1-5 (available on zinelibrary.info)
Anarchism, Heterosexism, and Secular Religions
- Peter Principle
Towards a Gay Communism- Mario Mieli
The Straight Mind/One is Not Born a Woman
- Monique Wittig
The Screwball Asses - Guy Hocquenghem

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